1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster.

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned.

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.)

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.)

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow.

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity.

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words.

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man.

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following:

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death."

602 in tracing kin ties is concerned with establishing the
621 range of people with whom an individual is involved in co-operating and participating in local-level activities.[1] These are the kin ties that are manifested in resource groups in the domestic sphere and at the local level--ties to 'api (household), kainga (kindred), and fāmili (local descent group).

592 The household group or 'api, a unit of common residence and consumption in which members are usually (although not necessarily) close kin to one another, has
612 been considered in the preceeding chapter. A second kind of kin grouping is the kainga, an ego-based personal kindred that does not include affines. One speaks of affinally-related kin as "my spouse's kainga" or "my brother's wife's kainga", or whatever, but not as being one's own kainga. This distinction is apparent in the following case, involving the people whose relationships
612 are depicted in Figure 3. An incestuous affair between
835 A and B was discovered. It was considered to bring shame on C but not to reflect on D in any way. The logic underlying this is that a person is considered to be married only to his/her spouse, not to the spouse's kin as well.

---

1 See Decktor Korn (1974, 1976), Kaeppler (1971), and Marcus (1975a, 1975b, 1976) for accounts that focus on various aspects of the differential significance of kinship at the national level and the local level.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

FIGURE 3

The Case of the Incestuous Relationship

612
835